

Message Text

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ACTION INR-07

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3762

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG CE ID

SUBJECT: PREPARATIONS FOR NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT

REF: STATE 082479

1. FOLLOWING IS CONTRIBUTION TO PROJECTED INR STUDY ON INDONESIA IN PREPARATION FOR NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT IN COLOMBO (REFTEL). CONTRIBUTION FOLLOWS OUTLINE OF STUDY BEING USED FOR NACC MEMBERS.

2. HISTORY OF MEMBERSHIP IN NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT: INDONESIA, AS HOST TO 1955 BANDUNG CONFERENCE, CONSIDERS ITSELF A FOUNDING FATHER OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT. WHILE SUHARTO GOVERNMENT HAS MOVED INDONESIAN POLICY AWAY FROM COMMUNIST ORIENTATION OF LATE SUKARNO ERA, THIS SHIFT IS VIEWED BY GOI NOT AS A TURN TO WEST BUT AS A RETURN TO TRUE NON-ALIGNMENT. GOI HAS NOT BEEN HAPPY WITH PROGRESSIVE NAC ABANDONMENT OF ORIGINAL NON-ALIGNED PRINCIPLES. HOWEVER, FOLLOWING INDONESIA'S WALKOUT FROM GEORGETOWN CONFERENCE IN PROTEST OF ABANDONMENT OF CONSENSUS RULE, GOI HAS CONCLUDED SUCH DRASTIC ACTION ONLY

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DAMAGES INDONESIA'S NON-ALIGNED STANDING WITHOUT OBTAINING

ANY RESULTS.

3. REASONS FOR MEMBERSHIP: IN EARLY YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE INDONESIA SAW ITS INTERESTS AS BEST SERVED BY A POLICY WHICH STEERED A COURSE BETWEEN THE FREE AND COMMUNIST WORLDS, WHILE SEEKING AND ACCEPTING ASSISTANCE FROM BOTH. DRIFT TOWARDS COMMUNIST BLOC IN SUKARNO'S LAST YEARS WAS REVERSED BY SUHARTO GOVERNMENT, WHICH ADOPTED "FREE AND INDEPENDENT" FOREIGN POLICY WHICH IN FACT TRANSLATED INTO CORDIAL TIES WITH FREE WORLD AND RATHER COOLER RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST BLOC (PRC, WITH WHOM RELATIONS WERE "FORZEN," BEING AN EXCEPTION). HOWEVER, EVEN MOST PRO-WESTERN AMONG INDONESIAN LEADERSHIP WERE AT ALL TIMES OPPOSED TO ANY MOVE WHICH COULD BE INTERPRETED AS INDONESIA'S ALLYING ITSELF WITH FREE WORLD (E.G. FOREIGN BASES IN INDONESIA). RECENTLY, AS OIL AND OTHER EXPORT EARNINGS INCREASED, THERE HAS BEEN A RELATIVE DECLINE IN IMPORTANCE OF ASSISTANCE FROM IGGI COUNTRIES. GIVEN THIS COINCIDENCE OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS BETWEEN INDONESIA AND MAJORITY OF NON-ALIGNEDS, AND CHANGES IN SEA POLITICAL SCENE, GOI HAS RETURNED TO A MORE NEARLY "NEUTRAL" NON-ALIGNEDNESS.

4. FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS: IN MULTILATERAL FORA INDONESIA GIVES HIGH PRIORITY TO MAINTENANCE OF GOOD STANDING AS A NON-ALIGNED NATION, AND WILL ONLY DEVIATE FROM CONSENSUS NON-ALIGNED POSITION OF GOI PERCEIVES CLEAR NATIONAL INTEREST; E.G. INDONESIAN VIEW OF ITS SECURITY INTEREST PRODUCED UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR FORMER GKR. PRIORITY GIVEN TO INDONESIA'S NON-ALIGNED POSITION NOW DOUBLY REINFORCED BY NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT ON TIMOR. OTHER PRIORITIES WHICH INDONESIA PERCEIVES IN FORA OF MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY RELATE TO ITS SOLIDARITY WITH ARAB WORLD, A POSITION BASED LARGELY ON AWARENESS OF SENSITIVITIES IN INDONESIAN MOSLEM POPULATION. (INDONESIA HAS, HOWEVER, RESISTED ESTABLISHMENT PLO OFFICE IN JAKARTA.) INDONESIA GIVES HIGH PRIORITY TO ASEAN AND WOULD OPPOSE ANY MOVE RUNNING COUNTER TO AGREED POSITION TAKEN BY ORGANIZATION. IT ATTACHES MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO ACCEPTANCE PRINCIPLE OF ARCHIPELAGO IN LOS MATTERS. AS REGARDS MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY, INDONESIA WILL GENERALLY SUPPORT THIRD WORLD POSITION THAT NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IS NEEDED. INDONESIA ALSO SUPPORTS SOLIDARITY OF OPEC ALTHOUGH IT DID NOT SUPPORT ARAB

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OIL EMBARGO.

5. ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO COUNTRY: AT COLOMBO QUESTION OF TIMOR WILL LOOM OVERRIDINGLY IN MINDS OF INDONESIAN DELEGATION UNLESS, AS SEEMS UNLIKELY, ACQUIESCENCE OF UN MAJORITY (INCLUDING LDC'S) IN INCORPORATION OF TIMOR HAS BEEN OBTAINED BY THAT TIME. (SOME WITHIN GOI PROFESS NOT TO CARE WHAT NON-ALIGNEDS THINK ABOUT TIMOR, BUT MORE TRADITIONAL INDO-

NESIAN VIEWS GENERALLY PREVAIL.) PRESENT PLANNING CALLS FOR FINAL ACT OF INCORPORATION TO TAKE PLACE ON INDONESIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY, AUGUST 17. THUS, WHILE ITSELF MODERATE ON MOST ISSUES LIKELY TO BE RAISED AT COLOMBO, INDONESIA IS UNLIKELY TO TAKE A FORTHCOMING STAND WHICH MIGHT IRRITATE COUNTRIES WHOSE SUPPORT ON TIMOR GOI SEEKS. (TENDENCY NOT TO MAKE WAVES WILL BE REINFORCED BY FACT THAT, WITH SUHARTO HOME CELEBRATING INDEPENDENCE, INDONESIAN DELEGATION WILL BE OUTRANKED BY MOST OF OTHERS ATTENDING.) ASIDE FROM TIMOR, ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO INDONESIA AT COLOMBO WILL BE THOSE DESCRIBED PARA 4 ABOVE.

6. ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US:

A) KOREA: KOREA IS PRIME ISSUE OF IMPORTANCE TO US ON WHICH (TIMOR PERMITTING) WE MAY HOPE FOR RELATIVELY HELPFUL INDONESIAN STANCE. INDONESIA VOTED FOR THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION AT THE UN IN 1975 AND TOOK HELPFUL STANCE ON PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS, WHILE ABSTAINING ON UNFRIENDLY RESOLUTION. WHILE GOI HOPES NOT TO GET TOO INVOLVED IN KOREAN QUESTION, INDONESIANS INTEREST IN CONTINUING STABILITY OF KOREAN PENINSULA WILL PROBABLY KEEP GOI FROM SLIPPING BACK FROM 1975 POSITION.

B) PUERTO RICO; GUAM: INDONESIA WOULD BE UNLIKELY TAKE POSITION AGAINST US INTERESTS IF THERE IS A RESOLUTION RELATED SOLELY TO SINGLE ISSUE. (E.G. IN 1975 INDONESIA VOTED IN COMMITTEE OF 24 TO POSTPONE PUERTO RICO ISSUE TO FOLLOWING SESSION.) GREATER DANGER EXISTS IF ISSUE IS PACKAGED IN WIDER RESOLUTION WITH GENERAL ANTI-COLONIALIST TONE.

C) OPEC: INDONESIA IS A RELATIVELY PASSIVE MEMBER BUT WILL STAND WITH ITS OPEC BROTHERS ONCE AN OPEC-WIDE CONSENSUS HAS BEEN REACHED, UNLESS THERE IS A MAJOR OVERRIDING NATIONAL INTEREST (E.G. INDONESIA DID NOT JOIN EMBARGO WHICH WOULD HAVE REDUCED FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT).

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D) OTHER ECONOMIC ISSUES: INDONESIA WILL TAKE ITS POSITION FROM THE CONSENSUS OF LCD GROUP. ON FORMATION OF CIEC, WHERE US AND INDONESIAN VIEWS ARE COMPATIBLE, INDONESIA MAY BE (QUIETLY). #3)0*7). HOWEVER, ON ISSUES WHERE LDC CONSENSUS OPPOSES US POLICY, SO WILL INDONESIA.

E) MIDDLE EAST: INDONESIA MAY AT TIMES BE PREPARED TO TAKE MODERATE STANCE WHEN A MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION IS IN DISCUSSION OR PROCEDURAL PHASE. HOWEVER, GIVEN INDONESIA'S LARGE MOSLEM POPULATION, INDONESIA WILL JOIN ARABS ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE VOTE.

F) INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE; DIEGO GARCIA: INDONESIA HAS PUBLICLY SUPPORTED THE FORMER AND OPPOSED THE LATTER, AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, DESPITE INDICATIONS SOME WITHIN GOI APPRECIATE OUR POSITION IN THESE ISSUES.

G) SOUTH AFRICA: INDONESIA WILL STAND WITH THE BLACK

AFRICAN NATIONS.

7. RECEPTIVITY TO US PERSUASION AND INFLUENCE: GIVEN MANY OPPOSING PRESSURES, OUR INFLUENCE WITH INDONESIA IS LIMITED. WE MUST BE EXTREMELY SELECTIVE IN DECIDING ISSUES ON WHICH WE WILL GO "ALL OUT" TO OBTAIN INDONESIAN SUPPORT, THOSE ON WHICH WE WILL TRY TO OBTAIN ONLY A MEASURE OF ASSISTANCE -- OR ABSTENTION -- AND THOSE WHERE WE MUST ACCEPT THAT GOI WILL NOT BE HELPFUL. ON ISSUES OF VITAL US INTEREST, WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT USG, INCLUDING CONGRESS, WILL NOT UNDERSTAND INDONESIAN OPPOSITION OR ABSTENTION. PUERTO RICO AND GUAM CLEARLY FALL INTO THIS CATEGORY. OUR ABILITY TO TAKE A FIRM LINE ON MAJOR ISSUES IS DEPENDENT IN PART ON CONTINUATION OF US ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA, WHICH IS IMPORTANT TO OUR LEVERAGE HERE. INVERSE, HOWEVER, DOES NOT APPLY; WE WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO SECURE INDONESIAN SUPPORT BY ANY DIRECT THREAT TO CUT OFF ASSISTANCE. TIMING AND MANNER OF OUR APPROACHES WILL ALSO BE RELEVANT. WITHIN GOI IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS ARE NOT DECIDED BY FONDEPT ALONE, AND IT IS AT TIMES IMPORTANT TO APPROACH MILITARY LEADERSHIP DIRECTLY.

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